WASHINGTON EDGES TOWARD WAR: FREDA KIRCHWEY

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Zero Hour in Indo-China

Time for Truth

by David Schoenbrun

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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Society Is the Delinquent *M. L. Barron*

Will Africa Be Next? *Melville Herskovits*

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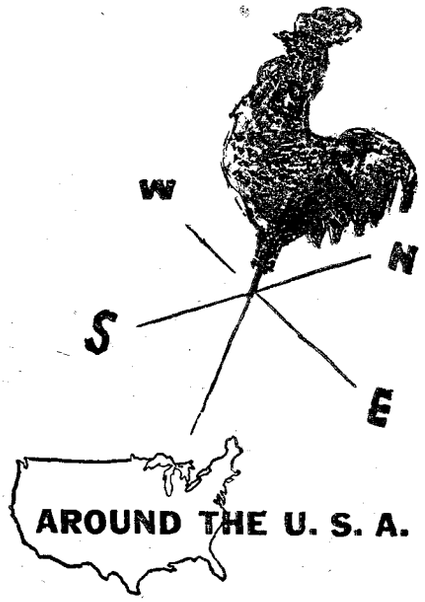

Robin Hood Goes to College

Bloomington, Indiana

MARCH came in like Robin Hood at Indiana University this year: on the morning of March 1 the campus was strewn with green feathers. Soon word spread around that Robin Hood and his merry men were fighting back at McCarthyism.

Robin Hood first came into the picture last fall when a certain Mrs. White denounced a book describing his exploits as an expression of communism and suggested it be removed from the libraries of Indiana schools. After some international publicity the incident was forgotten except by five students at Indiana University who were also members of the Roger Williams Fellowship of the Bloomington First Baptist Church. These students—Blas Davila, Ed Napier, Jeanine Carter, Bernard Bray, and Mary Dawson—conceived the idea of wearing green feathers, à la Robin Hood, to show their opposition to McCarthyism. With the financial help of their pastor and other citizens, they procured a quantity of feathers, buttons, and pamphlets for circulation on the campus. One button read, "They're your books—don't let McCarthyism burn them."

The campus reaction was enthusiastic. The supply of buttons was soon exhausted, and more had to be ordered. Everybody talked about the doings of Robin Hood's band. The university radio station carried a "man on the street" type of program presenting student views: no one supported McCarthy; the majority opposed him outright.

But now the local newspaper, the daily *Herald-Telephone,* came out with an attack on the whole campaign. With a logic understood only by himself, the editor accused the Robin Hoods of guilt by association for their statement: "Little John says thee should take extra arrows and use the long bow. McCarthy's hide is like that of yon fellow Hitler's." He also made dark references to hands behind the scenes. This attack was answered by the student paper with an editorial pointing out that the same issue of the *Herald-Telephone* which spoke of hands behind the scenes had carried a full account of the sponsors and investigators of the Green Feather movement.

At a crowded meeting organized by the university's Town Hall on March 9 some 300 students heard speakers analyze the McCarthy threat. Jeanine Carter spoke of the lack of courage it engendered—in its supporters. Red feathers marked with the question "green?" had been put up secretly on the campus, but no one had been willing to oppose the Robin Hoods on the Town Hall platform. Those who criticized the speakers from the floor did not defend McCarthy but investigations of communism, which the Robin Hoods had not attacked. One student cited McCarthy's excuse for withdrawing his libel suit against ex-Senator Benton—that his lawyers could find no one who believed Benton's charges. "I believe them," declared the student, and brought down the house.

This led students in the Psychology Department to circulate a paper bearing the statement "We Believe Benton," to which they obtained several hundred signatures.

It remains to be seen whether or not the Robin Hoods can develop their expression of protest into a sustained effort to defeat McCarthyism. One of their chief concerns is that McCarthy's antics have diverted national attention from the major problems confronting us, and they hope to convert the enthusiasm that greeted the green feathers into heightened student interest in foreign and domestic issues. They will be aided perhaps by the fact that they represent no existing political group; they are individuals whom McCarthyism has forced into the fight against it.

Note to other campuses: no copyrights involved. Green Feathers have already appeared at the University of Wisconsin.

DELL H. HYMES

[*Dell H. Hymes is a graduate student at the University of Indiana.*]

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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

Washington Edges Toward War

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

NEWS from Geneva, Hanoi, London, Paris, and Washington grows more contradictory with each day that passes. To the man on the end of a subway strap who reads as he lurches it must look strangely as if the war in Vietnam were about to take on a new ferocity just when a cease-fire agreement begins to seem likely if not certain. Even observers close to the scene make little more sense out of the situation. The French are engaged in frantic preparations to defend the Red River Delta against an expected pre-monsoon drive by the Vietminh forces, while agreeing at Geneva to start truce talks on the basis of Vietminh proposals. The defense effort is logical, since French bargaining power would be nil in the absence of any convincing plan to continue the war in case the talks dragged out or ultimately collapsed. It is also logical that Mr. Eden should have worked unceasingly, and with apparent success, to persuade Mr. Molotov that the all-but-certain alternative to a truce on acceptable terms would be either military intervention with its concomitant danger of general war or an all-out effort to build an anti-Communist alliance in Asia, or both. By last Saturday Mr. Eden had won approval of his proposal that the opposing Indo-Chinese military commands should meet in Geneva to study the actual delineation of zones for the regrouping of armed forces "after the cessation of hostilities," beginning with the question of regrouping areas in Vietnam. Over the week-end Mr. Molotov made a round trip to Moscow and back presumably to consult his government.

All this would be hopeful, at least in the sense of an end to the slaughter and a shift to negotiation, were it not for the negative attitude of the United States. Nobody now believes that the Administration will make any immediate, or unilateral, move toward armed intervention. Both the monsoon and the fall elections rule that out. In theory the United States wants a truce, but wants it on terms that could be had only by a victorious army. France plus the loyal Vietnamese are not in the role of victors, and cannot hope to be, for reasons David Schoenbrun vividly describes on page 477. In practice, the Americans at Geneva have resisted any truce formula that stands a chance of being accepted. The original French plan providing for Vietminh withdrawal from Laos and Cambodia and a regrouping of forces in fixed areas in Vietnam was opposed by the Communists. It was also opposed by the United States. The Vietminh counter-plan, while rejecting the French demand regarding Laos and Cambodia, moved closer to the French position on Vietnam; and it is around this compromise proposal that talks between the two commands are now in preparation. The Americans naturally liked the compromise even less, but since Washington has no faith in French ability to hold out long and no intention of doing more itself than speed up supplies for the defense operations in the Red River Delta, General Smith reluctantly voted for Mr. Eden's proposal, with reservations covering the position of Laos and Cambodia.

HOWEVER, Washington has other pots on the stove. While immediate intervention is out, ultimate intervention is a lively probability. It was no accident that Admiral Robert Carney, Chief of Naval Operations, made his speech threatening armed action in Indo-China on the very day that M. Bidault announced France's willingness to begin truce talks. Looked at as one of a series which has included the interventionist speeches of Dulles, Nixon, and Radford, the Carney pronouncement, cleared by both Defense and State departments, must not be minimized. The pattern is plain: a high government official makes a provocative statement; Congress and the public take alarm, so the Administration withdraws one or two steps; but each time the retreat is not quite so far as the previous one. And meanwhile opinion in and out of Congress shifts—subtly but inevitably—from "no intervention in Indo-China" to an anxious fear that "we must do something about Indo-China."

It was no accident, either, that the day after the Carney speech the State Department announced that staff talks among the United States, Britain, France, Australia, and New Zealand would begin Wednesday of this week in Washington—with the Admiral representing the United States—to "survey the military situation in the Far East." Nor was it an accident that two days later Thailand, prodded from behind by Washington, formally requested the Security Council to send military observers to keep an eye on developments along

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its border with Indo-China—a request the French and British feared might check progress at Geneva.

So, viewed together, the assorted American moves are less contradictory than they appear day by day in the headlines. They anticipate failure at Geneva or a settlement that opens the way to new dangers. Assuming this outcome, they look toward a grand "regrouping" of non-Communist powers in Asia, under American direction and, if possible, with United Nations sponsorship, not only to check further Communist expansion but to force the Communists to give up power and territory already won. Under this plan, if the Communist powers refuse to be intimidated, the only answer can be war. Whether Washington's grand strategists seriously believe that such a war could be fought by "Asians"—by the aging troops of Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee's more substantial army, along with contingents from the Philippines, Thailand, and the still unborn army of Japan—none of the official pronouncements have revealed. There is a school which argues that forces such as these, armed and directed by Americans and fortified by a naval and economic blockade of Communist territory, could defeat the Chinese and their allies without precipitating World War III. Presumably that is the view of Admirals Radford and Carney.

That it is not the view of our allies, the proceedings at Geneva have clearly proved. The press of Britain and the Continent overwhelmingly opposes the use of military pacts and military threats as long as any chance of negotiated agreements remains open (see pp. 477-481). The policy which appears to be taking shape is that of the Eisenhower Administration—which means that of the Pentagon and Secretary Dulles. But implicit in their plans is the assumption that, once a decision has been taken, the allies will have to follow along, even though they may believe that the road we have chosen leads straight toward World War III and general disaster.

Now Ralph Bunche

THERE is deep humiliation in the circumstance that Dr. Ralph J. Bunche should have been called upon to defend his loyalty in the week that followed the Supreme Court's decision outlawing segregation in American public education. Dr. Bunche is a symbol throughout the world of the American Negro's increasingly effective struggle for full equality and complete emancipation from every badge of discrimination based on race or color. But surely it is as outrageous that this man's loyalty should be called in question by the government he has served so well as that he should once have felt compelled to decline an appointment in Washington because he did not want his children to attend Jim Crow schools. Pity the Voice of America broadcasters

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who had to announce this humiliating news in the wake of the Supreme Court's decision!

The prompt and decisive "clearance" of Dr. Bunche is, of course, gratifying. It may be assumed, too, that Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer will also be exonerated. But how much will either action accomplish? It is one thing for men of world-wide reputation like Drs. Bunche and Oppenheimer to win clearance against the slanders of professional informers. But what of other, less well-known individuals who have had to face the same cruel ordeal? Do we oppose "patriotic lying" when the victim is so little known that he can be designated by a numeral or a letter from the alphabet or only when he is a person of international reputation? If not, why has the indignation about these latest cases been couched so largely in terms of a personal defense of men whose reputations hardly need defending?

Of course it is scandalous when the federal government pits the word of men who have served it as loyally and well as Dr. Bunche and Dr. Oppenheimer against the word of professional informers. But when government goes a step farther, as in the Val R. Lorwin case, and attempts to suppress evidence, there is even greater cause for alarm. Lorwin, now a professor at the University of Chicago, was included in McCarthy's original list of eighty-one State Department "Communists." Notified of loyalty charges in the fall of 1950, he was eventually cleared by a Loyalty Review Board. Last December, however, the Department of Justice, in what was apparently an effort to appease McCarthy, secured a perjury indictment against him based on testimony which he had given before the Loyalty Board. The only real evidence before the board, aside from the usual mishmash of "derogatory information," was the testimony of one Harold W. Metz. On motion of Lorwin's counsel, Judge Edward M. Curran recently ordered the Department of Justice to produce the secret Loyalty Board testimony which Metz had given. To forestall a test of the court's right to order production of the testimony, the Attorney General dropped the case and suspended William A. Gallagher, his special assistant, who had handled the case. The Attorney General contends that Mr. Gallagher was guilty of two irregularities: in having told the grand jury that two F. B. I. informers would identify Lorwin as a Communist Party member when in fact the government does not know of such witnesses, and in having assured the grand jury that it would be idle to call Lorwin since he "would probably claim the Fifth Amendment," and this despite the fact that Lorwin had waived the privilege when he testified earlier before the Loyalty Board. Mr. Gallagher, it should be noted, contends that he resigned when he was ordered by his superiors not to respond to Judge Curran's order. To this day, however, neither Lorwin nor his counsel has seen the transcript of the Metz testimony.

Here, too, the protests seem somewhat wide of the mark. For example, the Committee for Cultural Freedom has asked that Lorwin be indemnified for the costs of his defense and that the Justice Department seek disbarment of the attorney who obtained the indictment. But do these suggestions raise the main issues? How, in all reason, can the government continue to protect the identity of informers in loyalty hearings if it intends to base perjury prosecutions on their testimony? The government cannot undertake to prosecute a man and still insist that it has the privilege of suppressing evidence which he may need to establish his innocence. Governments that operate in this fashion are in danger of becoming known as police states. Of course Mr. Lorwin should be indemnified; but so should every other person who has been placed in a similar position. Mr. Lorwin, like Dr. Bunche and Dr. Oppenheimer, was fortunate. Although not as well-known as either, he has a very long record of militant "anti-communism," But is the injustice any greater for this reason? Would it have been proper for the Department of Justice to have attempted to suppress the transcript if the case had involved an actual member of the Communist Party?

As these cases and the current McCarthy-Army hearings indicate, we are, in Dr. John A. Mackay's phrase, "poised on the edge of an unknown tomorrow." No government can tolerate the existence in its ranks of a network of spies and informers, protected by high officials, insured of anonymity as a matter of public policy, and pampered and rewarded as social heroes. Like a cancer, such a network will eventually destroy the government which fails to remove it.

Latin America Looks East

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

BEFORE the cold war reached its present pitch economists agreed that a great expansion in East-West trade was essential to European recovery. In recent years the experts, fearing this brand of subversion, have been speaking with greater caution. Churchill can call boldly for more trade with Russia, as he did in Commons early this year. Gunnar Myrdal, secretary of the European Economic Conference, an extraordinarily courageous international civil servant, continues to urge the destruction of East-West trade barriers. The American Chamber of Commerce in Tokyo, perhaps borrowing courage from distance, has asked Washington to reconsider American trade policies with the Communist countries. But such voices are seldom heard in the United States.

South of the border it is a different matter. Several Latin American republics have already sent economic missions to Moscow in response to a general invitation to trade issued recently by the Soviet Union. Latin

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Americans have told me that their nations, beset by inflation and foreign-exchange problems and repelled by a United States policy which ignores their needs, are becoming daily more receptive to the idea of trade with the Communist world.

Sharp observers at the Caracas conference last winter could have foreseen this trend. At the close of the sessions a delegate whose country had voted consistently with the United States summarized the situation in this way: "The United States is ready to give us arms, the services of the F. B. I., all kinds of anti-Communist assistance—everything except real economic aid." Most delegations at Caracas shared this view; they got the impression that Secretary Dulles had gone to Caracas for one purpose only—to obtain a resolution against Communist infiltration into Guatemala. To most Latin Americans all the speeches made by the United States delegates about the southern continent's economic and social problems were so much *pura literatura.*

TODAY very few Latin Americans expect any solution for their very real and urgent problems from Washington. The Korean war helped the economies of some of the countries for a short time. Copper prices went up and compensated Chile somewhat for the gradual decline of its nitrate market. But since the war's end demand has been lessening and prices are again softening. This year the United States agreed to buy 100,000 tons of copper for stockpiling, but neither the quantity nor the price satisfies Chile. Regular copper exports to this country from Chilean mines have been dropping sharply: in January and February they averaged 17,500 tons monthly compared to 24,000 tons last year and 30,000 tons in 1952.

Chile's economic crisis has brought grave social unrest. Early this month a one-day general strike prompted Sam Pope Brewer, New York *Times* correspondent in Santiago, to comment, "Leftist workers, if they could not paralyze the country completely . . . could seriously cripple it with a general strike." He added, "Although the strike supposedly grew out of domestic issues, the United States was one of the principal targets."

Partial strikes have also broken out in Argentina and Brazil, which with Chile and Uruguay are perhaps farthest removed among all South American republics from the influence of direct United States economic operations and are seeking to build independent economies. It is precisely in these countries that the economic crisis is most acute. In Argentina, Brazil, and Chile living costs have increased 400 to 500 per cent in the last seven years. Uruguay is also beginning to feel the burden of a sharp inflation. In the smaller and less industrialized countries—Bolivia, Paraguay, Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia—none of the chronic problems have been solved, and the masses continue to live in appalling poverty.

Central America is still in a state of total dependence on the United States. The picture there is sufficiently familiar—wealthy indigenous oligarchies, American monopolies, and a poverty-ridden peasantry. Luis Cardoza y Aragón, one of Guatemala's outstanding writers, refers to his country as a *democracia descalza,* a "democracy without shoes." It is difficult to imagine a tiny nation of 4,000,000 people, two-thirds of them barefoot, marching on the Panama Canal! Elsewhere in Central America the situation is even worse—there are neither shoes nor democracy.

Latin America's economic problems are old, but two world wars have made profound changes in the social and political picture. In most countries the peasantry has become more conscious of its misery and is demanding a change. The governments—even the dictatorial ones—cannot forever remain unresponsive. If they cannot obtain a solution for their economic ills from the United States, they must inevitably seek one from Europe and Asia. While West Germany is rapidly regaining its pre-war trade position in Latin America, Western Europe is clearly unable to absorb Latin America's surpluses. The only additional markets worthy of exploration are those of Eastern Europe and China. Argentina is buying oil from Russia and transport equipment from Czechoslovakia in return for leather, wool, and cotton. Brazil, anxious to dispose of a cotton surplus, has negotiated trade agreements with Poland and Czechoslovakia and is negotiating others with Hungary, Rumania, and East Germany. Chile, seeking better copper prices, is apparently preparing to send a commercial mission to Moscow in September. Argentina is planning to send one to Peking. The Soviet Union has offered to buy sugar in Cuba.

Political differences do not seem to affect the desire of the Latin American governments—even the most reactionary among them—to trade with the Communists. To the Latin Americans business is business; in this they are no different from the members of the German East Asian Union who met recently at Hamburg and expressed the view that the Bonn Republic "had particularly good trade prospects in East Asia because it had no political ax to grind."

Transport and means of payment present difficulties in the way of Latin American trade with the Communist countries, but experts say that they are not insuperable, particularly if the Soviet Union proves anxious enough to trade to offer helpful concessions. In the long run the bilateral trade agreements mentioned above, and others that may come, are likely to prove a more explosive factor in United States relations with Latin America than the arrival in Guatemala of a shipment of Czechoslovak arms.

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TIME FOR TRUTH

Indo-China's Zero Hour . . . *by David Schoenbrun*

Geneva

THE West is losing the struggle for Indo-China, losing it on the cool Alpine slopes of Geneva, and on the banks of the Thames, the Seine, and the Potomac, just as in the steaming paddies of Tonkin. Rarely in the history of war and diplomacy have so many blunders been made in so many places.

I have watched these tragic errors from the day in Paris, back in 1946, when Ho Chi-minh told me that war would break out in Indo-China, to the last four tragic weeks in Hanoi, when the deterioration of the French army and the disintegration of the political regime became clear. Some seven days ago and seven thousand miles away I stood in the map room of General Cogny, in Hanoi, and as he analyzed the situation we could hear the pounding of artillery outside the town on the road to Haiphong. Some time before I had seen the governor of the north, Nguyen Tri, and he asked me, "Why has America abandoned us?" That was the day President Eisenhower said we would seek a modus vivendi with the Communists. Later I saw the despair in the faces of the people when they heard that Mr. Dulles thought Indo-China might be lost.

For weeks the people of North Vietnam have seen their protectors, the French, beaten in battle; their allies, the Americans, wavering; the members of their own government leaving the country with their wives and children, while the Emperor and the royal family sun themselves on the French Riviera. And in Geneva the Western Allies are being outmaneuvered at the conference table just as they are being outfought in the field. Even worse, the Allies seem intent upon defeating themselves as they quarrel and scold on the brink of disaster.

Ho Chi-minh

The politicians in Paris attack their own Foreign Minister; the politicians in Washington seem to regard the British as the real enemy. As for the British, they are dismayed to find America and France talking secretly together, planning without them critical action that may affect the global alliance. This today, on almost the fiftieth anniversary of the Entente Cordiale, the alliance that has been a cornerstone of British and French policy since the turn of the century.

The time has come to speak the blunt truth. Despite the darkness of the hour, and the West has not known a more perilous twilight since the British collapse in Greece, much can still be saved from the imminent wreck of Indo-China. And much is at stake, more than just Indo-China. The Atlantic alliance itself, the global defense of the free world, is hanging in the balance. This is the moment to face facts as they are and not as we would wish them to be, for only if we know the facts can a policy be devised to meet them.

First, the situation here in Geneva. Five weeks of talks have produced little agreement at the conference table and considerable disagreement among the Allies. Before Geneva started, there seemed to be the beginning of a united policy and there was a threat of American intervention, a threat which the Communists feared, but on the very eve of the conference the news broke that Dulles had refused Bidault's request for intervention at Dienbienphu, and that was just what the Communists wanted to know. It was a green light for General Giap and he opened the throttle wide. Thus this conference began under the gun with defeatism in the West.

You could not reasonably expect the Russians or the Chinese to be anything but tough. Yet diplomats here are still convinced that Russia is uneasy and fears an extension of the conflict, and there is good reason to believe that Russia is worried about China, fearful that Chou En-lai may overreach himself. Every reporter and diplomat here has noted that Molotov only puts on his earphones at the conference table when China's Chou En-lai is speaking, and Russian attachés are then seen scribbling down every word, a sign that they do not have advance texts.

This is not to suggest that there is a split in the Sino-Soviet camp. It does indicate, however, that Russia is by no means the master of China and that although Chou may be letting Molotov carry the ball, Molotov apparently is not calling all the signals. If this is a fact, and the best-qualified men here say it is, then you would think that the policy to meet that fact would be more direct contact with China and acceptance of China as a dominant power in Asia, without which no peace or stability in that area can be achieved. Yet the American delegation, for internal political reasons, is not permitted to face that fact or to deal with it.

There is hardly a major member of the American delegation here who will not admit privately that our China policy is unreal, though they cannot say so publicly. I am told that Secretary of State

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DAVID SCHOENBRUN is the regular Paris correspondent for CBS Radio. This dispatch was broadcast from Geneva over the CBS Radio network.

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Dulles before leaving here went so far as to boast to reporters that he had spent a whole week in the same room as Chou En-lai and had not once said "hello" to him. The only way we shall meet, Dulles is reported to have said, is if our cars collide on the road. Well, that sort of collision has not happened yet, but there have been others—Dienbienphu, for example, and that hurt more than any snub to China. I flew over Dienbienphu and saw the hot metal of Chinese flak mushrooming up from the hills while down on Road 41 was a long line of Molotov trucks bringing up shells. Yet we can sit down with Molotov, whose name is on the trucks that carry the shells.

FEW diplomats here, not even the British, who were at first the most optimistic, would suggest that China be appeased, or bought off if it could be done, but many object to the American myth that negotiation and settlement are synonymous with appeasement, that recognition implies moral approval, and that entry into the United Nations is somehow a reward or a prize. Our diplomats are hoping for leadership from the President himself, the only man big enough to face up to this issue, but they have not yet got that leadership. On the contrary, there have been confusion and contradiction in Washington. Little that the Russians or Chinese have done here in Geneva has hurt our negotiators' chances so much as has the incredibly contradictory series of statements issuing from Washington—and not by any means from Washington alone. London and Paris are equally, if not more, guilty.

As we reporters at the press camp in Hanoi followed the day-to-day drama of Dienbienphu, we read with dismay the statements from London and Paris—Churchill in Commons proclaiming that no action must be taken so long as there was hope of peace from Geneva, deputies in Paris demanding direct negotiations with the Communists—while out there Frenchmen were being asked to jump into Dienbienphu and Vietnamese were being exhorted to take up arms. Little wonder that when the recruiting agents of General Hinh came to the villages the young men fled to the jungle rather than join an untrained army without popular support, an army whose commander does not even have operational control of his own troops.

That is another cold fact that must be faced. Vietnam is still not an independent country. For almost a year now, since last July 3, the French have been promising to perfect the independence of Vietnam. Since March 8 they have been drafting a treaty, but they have not finished it yet. The economic, juridical, and military conventions that spell out independence still await completion. If today there were an insurrection in Saigon, the Minister of Defense could not call upon his own soldiers without French permission. Can you expect people seeking independence to rush to the colors of an army which is itself not independent? Can you expect to rally a nation to fight for freedom and democracy when neither exists? For if it is a fact that the French have not granted complete independence, it is also a fact that Emperor Bao Dai has not made any real start toward representative government. It is understandably hard for the French to grant complete independence to an emperor who does nothing to give his people confidence or courage. Independence is fine, but independence for whom, for the people of the country or for a group of wilful, selfish men who are more interested in filling their pockets than filling the ranks of the army?

Two weeks ago this reporter first exposed the appointment as chief of the security police in Saigon of one of the most notorious gangsters in the country, the strong man of the Binh Xuyen clan, Lau Huu Sang. The Emperor put him into this key position without even informing the Prime Minister. Is this the answer to communism in Vietnam? Can an absentee government and a playboy Emperor meet the challenge of Ho Chi-minh? Is it for this that the French are granting independence and that the United States is sending ships and planes and considering sending men to Indo-China?

It is a black picture I am painting, but the pigments are not my invention or my choice. They are made of the mud that I have seen and lived in these past four weeks in Vietnam. It is my professional duty to report it, and I have been bolstered by the knowledge that there are many officials here who believe the truth should come out, as there are others who fear that it might serve to comfort the enemy.

I want also to report, however, that the situation, while desperate and ugly, is not yet hopeless, is not yet beyond holding within manageable bounds. There are, both here in Geneva and in Indo-China, good and brave men who have not despaired and who are trying to stave off disaster. Among the Vietnamese there are Prince Buu Loc, the Prime Minister; Governor Tri in the north; General Hinh, commander-in-chief of the army. In Saigon are two men who are among the best the West has—the French High Commissioner, Maurice Dejean, and the United States chargé d'affaires, Robert McClintock, a brilliant foreign-service officer. They have reported the full facts to their superiors and have made concise recommendations to clean up the mess. Both these men believe that the threatened rout on the battlefield can be stopped by a vigorous field commander, by reinforcements as a sign of support from the home fronts, and by full use of the Vietnam army, untrained as it is. But for that the Emperor is needed; he should be back home, with his wife and children, actively campaigning throughout his own country in a show of confidence without which nothing can be saved. If these steps are taken at once, there will probably be no need for more foreign troops. Then, if the front is stabilized and if the Communists are made to understand that they will not be able to win a military victory, the diplomats can begin to talk usefully and seek a reasonable settlement.

WHAT can that settlement be? There are several plans under consideration. One of them, attributed to M. Bidault's staff, calls for a cease-fire along present lines, something like the crazy-quilt pattern of truce in Palestine. The important thing is to stop the fighting and worry about a political settlement later. Another plan, put forward by Vietnam, calls for an armistice followed by free elections under United Nations supervision. The third plan calls for partition; this is a British plan which is gaining ground in all the delegations here. It would mean recognition of the fact that the Communists already hold most of Tonkin. The French could pull their expeditionary corps back to the narrow

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waist of the country and with the Vietnam army set up a defense line covering Cambodia, Laos, and the rest of Southeast Asia.

Such a plan calls for sober, honest appraisal. The odds are slim. We do not yet have the conditions we need in Indo-China; there is no independence, no democracy, no clear-cut policy in the Western capitals, a long list of negatives which must be frankly faced. Any further hesitation, any further quarreling among the Allies, any partisan politics at home, and disaster will be upon us. The time is very short.

CHINA LOBBY MYTHS

Underlying U. S. Policy . . . *by Mark Gayn*

FOR more than a decade the Republicans have been attacking the Democrats for "betraying" China. Today no Republican, whatever the compulsion of events, would dare to take actions for which *he* might be denounced as a traitor. Secretary Dulles is no exception. His tragedy, thus, is that he has to engage in diplomacy, which is the art of international bargaining, with no bargains to offer. He could not promise at Geneva, as Paris at first naively hoped he would, to recognize Peking if Peking would cease its support of the Vietminh. He cannot dangle the bait of trade before Red China in return for a pledge to be good. He cannot even vouch for Syngman Rhee's compliance with any undertakings. The only weapon the Secretary of State has in his diplomatic knapsack is the threat of war.

Not long ago Alf Landon, the Republican sage of Topeka, took a look at American foreign policy and came forth with this unexpected bit of advice: "It goes against my grain to admit the Chinese Communist satellite regime to the United Nations, but I do not believe we should nail ourselves down one way or another on this or any other questions involving our foreign policy. . . . It seems to me good sense not to show our cards in the poker game such as we are playing in the world today. We certainly should not take an irrevocable position while we are in a maneuvering stage." Mr. Landon must have been thinking of Mr. Dulles.

Probably at no other time in history has this nation's foreign policy been so confused. (How far back, for instance, does one have to go to find a parallel to the President's pledge to withdraw all United States air-force technicians from Indo-China by next month and the Vice-President's trial balloon on the dispatch of American troops to that area?) The confusion reflects the tug of war within the Republican Party—the protagonists of the "new look," such as Admiral Radford and Mr. Dulles, against its opponents, such as General Ridgway; the dyed-in-the-wool isolationists against the Asia Firsters; the champions of a balanced budget against the believers in the need to provide some new military priming for the ill-functioning economic pump. But perhaps as important as any of these influences in the shaping of American foreign policy is the body of myths that has now become the warp of our political life.

CHINA today is our prime antagonist in Asia, and the spread of communism our main concern. Yet no fresh approach can be taken to these problems in the face of the myths. They fill the public mind with saints and demons, and condition public attitudes. They have made China a factor in American domestic politics, elevated a Chinese general and his wife to political saint-hood, done vast damage to America's relations with its Western allies, helped to destroy the spirit and quality of the American foreign service, and ruined the lives or damaged the reputations of policy-makers, generals, diplomats, scholars, and writers. If the myths are not to lead this country into a catastrophe in Indo-China, they must be closely examined. What are these myths, and what is their effect on our lives?

1. *United States aid could have averted Nationalist collapse in China.* This hoary legend betrays ignorance of the nature both of revolutions and of China. Revolutions require not only a sense of grievance but also a set of positive, coherent, and persuasive appeals. The Nationalist regime was doomed the day World War II ended, not only because it had no social and political program to offer, but also because the Communists did have such a program. One can argue that Mao Tse-tung's program was only bait, meant to be pulled back as soon as the fish were hooked. The argument is irrelevant. What is important is that *at that moment* the program held out hope of order, reform, and reconstruction. By contrast the Nationalists talked only of war on the Reds.

Nor was the lack of a program the only flaw. To the Chinese people, at first incredulous and then indignant and cynical, the Nanking government presented a picture of inner rot seldom matched in modern history. Under Chiang Kai-shek as arbiter half a dozen cliques fought for profit and political advantage. In the pages of Shanghai newspapers for 1947 one finds one clique publicly charging another with thievery so colossal that it would make Washington's mink coats look like child's play. If the Kuomintang had once been a vital revolutionary force, by the mid-forties it had plainly become larded with the yield of power and corruption, and deserted even by some groups whose interests it championed. No foreign aid could have saved it.

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2. *United States aid to Chiang-Kai-shek was meager.* In its most naive, cash-on-the-barrel form this myth contends that a Communist revolution involving a hundred million people or more could have been defeated by an extra one or two billion dollars. In its bolder, gun-in-hand variant, the myth suggests that the United States should have dispatched an army to fight side by side with Chiang. Both the variants are absurd. Chiang Kai-shek never lost a major battle for lack of guns. And one can legitimately wonder whether the United States army could have done better against the Chinese Reds on their own soil than it did in Korea.

Except for isolated cases, war on communism involves political, economic, and psychological weapons as much as guns. Chiang was as ignorant of this as are many of his champions in this country. More guns were useless when put into the hands of Chinese soldiers who were often unpaid and usually unwilling to fight, when the government seemed to offer no prospect other than civil war, and when the people had turned away from the government to listen to more persuasive voices.

In the last stages of the civil war, while on a trip into the Chinese hinterland with two UNRRA officials, I was told of a village that prospered though it lay in no man's land. It had been nearing starvation when, one day, the Nationalist commander summoned the village elders and suggested they make a deal with his opposite number on the Communist side. After brief hesitation the villagers agreed. In the morning they purchased ammunition from the Nationalists at seven Chinese dollars a round; in the afternoon they resold it to the Reds at ten dollars.

This incident was symptomatic of what went on all across the war map. And no one can forget that the great and decisive battle of Hsuchow, in which Chiang Kai-shek committed the bulk of his American equipment, was lost because the troops had not been paid for months and their commander had used the money Chiang issued on the eve of the battle for speculation in gold bullion. He was shot, but half of China was lost. And in the mammoth victory parade that followed, it took hours for the captured American equipment—tanks, artillery and trucks—to pass before Mao Tse-tung. Press reports said there was enough modern equipment there for twelve divisions.

3. *Chiang was betrayed by a Washington conspiracy.* This myth is close kin to Senator McCarthy's "twenty years of treason," and has for years been peddled energetically by Republican extremists and the China Lobby. In the

Berger

Secretary of State Dulles

new demonology some of the most distinguished Americans of the era had become "betrayers of China." Among them were Generals Marshall and Stilwell, Secretary of State Acheson, and such officials as Jessup and John Carter Vincent. These were only a shade better than outright Kremlin "agents" like Owen Lattimore, the Institute of Pacific Relations, and a cabal of book reviewers.

How have these men sinned? For one thing, many of them happened to be Democrats. For another, some of them understood the processes at work in China and saw that no type of American aid or intervention could save the Nationalists. Like the Czar of Russia, Chiang was doomed by the utter decay of his regime. The United States army's story of the Stilwell mission to China is a heart-breaking record of one effort to save Chiang from his fate and folly. Chiang resisted such efforts much more successfully than he did the Communists. Back in 1949 Secretary Acheson wrote to President Truman: "Nothing that this country did or could have done within the reasonable limits of capabilities could have changed [the] result [in China]; nothing that was left undone by this country has contributed to it." The verdict still stands. And if the observers, official and journalistic, of that period erred in their evaluation of Mao Tse-tung, they were tragically right on the only thing that mattered —the disintegration of the Kuomintang, whatever the foreign props.

MUCH of this, of course, is now history. But the myth-makers are busy, and their product is as dangerous as any in the past. The Gimo's errors are painted over, and a new image appears on the canvas:

4. *Formosa is a bastion of democracy.* A benevolent Chiang and his associates, the American public is now told, have established a haven of freedom, prosperity, and patriotism in his new domain. The myth-maker's trouble is that truth is as irrepressible in Formosa as it was on the mainland. In recent weeks two of the top-ranking Nationalists now sojourning in this country have formally broken with Chiang. One was General Li Tsung-jen, former vice-president of Nationalist China; the other, K. C. Wu, until recently the much-publicized governor of Formosa.

Chiang Kai-shek, one now learns from Wu without undue surprise, has not changed. He still plays one faction against the others. Corruption goes on as ever; competent generals are carefully watched and their authority is circumscribed; and a savage fight for succession is raging around the aging Gimo. A leading figure in this dog fight is Chiang's Russian-trained, Russian-married son, Chiang Ching-kuo, who with a fine eye for the realities of power runs the secret police and the army's omnipotent Political Department.

Just how well Chiang, Jr., learned his Russian lesson is indicated by Wu: "The so-called 'Political Department' is entirely modeled after the [Communist] system. . . . It has almost totally wrecked the morale of the troops. . . . [Moreover], during my three-year administration hardly a day passed without some bitter struggle with the secret police. . . . They made numberless illegal arrests. They tortured and blackmailed. . . . The people only dare to resent but not to speak in the open." One might add that the natives of Formosa, who outnumber the "mainlanders" twelve to one, are not allowed to hold office in the vast bureaucracy of

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the Nationalist government. This, then, on a tiny scale, is the image of what Chiang has been able to achieve when he has enjoyed military security, governed over a prosperous area, and received hundreds of millions of dollars in American aid.

5. *Chiang can reconquer China by his own effort.* The Chinese people, the American public is now told, will rebel as soon as Chiang's forces land on the beaches of Fukien. This is, of course, dangerous nonsense. It not only ignores the effectiveness of the Communist governmental machinery—in winning converts as in intimidating foes—but also distorts deliberately the picture of Chiang's strength.

Chiang now has somewhat over half a million troops. Western observers believe that less than half of this army is young and healthy enough to fight a real war. The others are a sort of budgetary padding, permitting Chiang to claim extra American supplies and funds. Those who are fit have been training for about six years. Yet the other week, when Chiang's marines tried a mock beach landing, United States army observers agreed that the marines still had a lot to learn before they could land in China.

This rehearsal with the marines is significant. Increasingly of late there has been talk of major diversionary landings by Chiang's troops, to take some of the Communist pressure off Indo-China. Chiang has also been telling the American pilgrims to Formosa that all he needs is equipment. Few military experts in Washington take this seriously. A major Nationalist effort would require a corresponding major effort by United States air and naval forces, services of supply, and possibly even ground forces. Since the Chinese Reds have shown in Korea that they possess first-rate troops with first-rate Soviet-made equipment, any major American-supported landing is likely to develop into a life-sized war. This idea does not alarm Chiang. But what of the Americans?

6. *Peking is Moscow's satellite.* A major premise of United States foreign policy today is that Moscow pulls the strings which animate Red China. No one in the West can prove this assumption wrong, but if it *is* wrong, it can do incalculable damage to this country. British officials, according to the New York *Times*, believe that the Peking government is pursuing an independent policy, and that it has taken over from the Kremlin primacy in Asiatic operations. There is evidence that Soviet advisers in China are given no more of a free hand than they enjoyed in Yugoslavia in 1948. And, on my own, I can submit that all the "Big Four" of Red China—Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh, Liu Shao-chih, and Chou En-lai—with whom I had talked at great length, regarded their own revolutionary achievements as greater than those of the Russians, and envisioned their own political philosophy, rather than Stalinism, as the guiding light for Asia. If there is such a divergence, however slight, between Moscow and Peking, threats are not the most astute way to exploit it to the advantage of the West.

THE myths have had a deadly effect on both the governed and the governors. The American people, relieved by the end of the war in Korea, would flinch at the idea of another involvement in Asia. But they have been so conditioned by the myths that by and large they do not realize the implications of Chiang's pledge to return to China this year, or Mr. Dulles's plan for Indo-China.

On the other hand, the myths bind Mr. Dulles hand and foot. In Indo-China he faces a problem as tragic as that faced by Dean Acheson in China. It is obvious that the loss of Indo-China to the Communists would be a calamity to the West. Yet the Republican pressures and the myths give neither Mr. Dulles nor the President the necessary freedom to explore all possible solutions.

Mr. Dulles's formula for Indo-China is to send an ultimatum to Peking, organize a Pacific counterpart of NATO, induce France to grant a larger degree of independence to the three Associated States, and, apparently, pour United Nations' troops and arms into the paddies and mountains of Indo-China. This is a solution that solves nothing; at best, it delays the day of reckoning. For one thing, China is not likely to be swayed by threats. For another, military action of the type contemplated by Washington is not likely to succeed. One hint of this is provided by French press forecasts that in any free election Ho Chi-minh would win by a landslide. The Communists in Indo-China not only profess to fight for the share-cropper; they have also managed to capture the nationalist movement and have thus become the champions of the people against the alien colonizer and his native puppets. Any effective reply to the Communists must meet them squarely in both areas. Independence must be genuine, and it must be matched by a far-reaching program of social and economic reform.

On a much smaller scale Indo-China today is China in 1945-48. There is the same inept and corrupt government, the same economic maladjustment, the same loss of faith in the governors, and the same unwillingness to fight for no clear cause. On top of all these Indo-China also has an alien army of occupation. The warning, thus, should be clear to any policy-maker in Washington.

President Eisenhower was elected with the help of millions of independents who felt that the Democrats could no longer perform efficiently and that he alone, with his enormous prestige, could pursue a vigorous and intelligent program. Many times since the election Mr. Dulles and others have spoken of their new, dynamic, and "positive" policy. But the fact is that the new policy is rigid, unimaginative, and probably incapable of achieving the professed ends. It gives no indication that the lessons of China have been learned. And it is so heavily incrusted with myths that it can no longer be directed properly to the advantage of this great nation.

St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

Not Like the Walls of Jericho

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THE DELINQUENT

Society or the Juvenile? . . *Milton L. Barron*

A WELL-KNOWN American criminologist, Austin MacCormick, is credited with having once remarked: "There are few social problems about which the public has done more hysterical wringing of hands and less intelligent thinking, more talking and less doing, than juvenile delinquency." This has been continuously true since juvenile delinquency was set off from crime as a unique social problem by the Illinois legislature's enactment of the first juvenile-court law in 1899.

Many social problems show marked cycles or swings in their incidence. With respect to juvenile delinquency, when the New York State Youth Commission, using the year 1938 as a base line, analyzed the trend of official court cases in New York State, it noted first that the number of cases reported annually increased between 1938, a time of peace, and 1941, a period of defense preparation. The war years, 1942 to 1945, showed a decided increase, the peak being reached in 1943. During the postwar years there was a steady and appreciable decline to a new twelve-year low in 1950. With our renewed defense preparation and involvement in the Korean war, delinquency again rose in 1951 and leveled off in 1952. Apparently it is now in another upswing.

We cannot yet fully explain these cycles, but at least we are aware of some of the important factors. Examination of all the cycles since 1929 shows that juvenile delinquency increases in periods of economic prosperity and declines in periods of depression, just as it increases in a time of defense preparation and war and drops in time of peace. In the past fifteen years defense preparation and war have coincided with prosperity, but it is likely that *either* war or prosperity would have increased the delinquency.

The incidence of adult crime follows exactly the opposite course. It generally declines in time of prosperity and war and rises during depressions and peace. The answer to the question why trends of delinquency and crime are diametrically opposed is believed to be that the patterns of economic boom-bust and war-peace have different psychological, social, and economic impacts on children than on adults.

In the new upswing of delinquency since 1953 another factor has been operating. The census of 1950 estimated that from 1953 to 1957 there would be an unprecedented increase of more than 400,000 children, about 25 per cent, in the age group from seven to fifteen. This increase obviously explains the greater size of the problem today, though the *rate* may not have changed.

RESPONSIBLE analysts of juvenile delinquency today agree that it has many causes, not just one. Many self-appointed experts, however, persist in explaining delinquency as well as crime solely as a product of personality maladjustment; others look at the family and find it the source of all trouble; still others point to the influence of comic books. The proponents of these different views overlook the fact that probably the only recognizable common denominator in all cases of delinquency is that they are violations of law. No inherent personality trait or social background distinguishes delinquent children. The endless variations of circumstance, opportunity, and personal history must be taken into account.

Regardless of the reasons for the current increase, delinquency as a social problem now lends itself once again to self-righteous speech-making, newspaper exposés, and Congressional investigations. The hackneyed clichés concerning the "growing menace to law and order" presented by the second-generation children of "foreigners" and of Negro migrants in the North have been dusted off for re-use. Concern about the allegedly deteriorating behavior of youngsters is exploited by special-interest groups to further their own goals. What could be more effective, for instance, in attacking the public-school system than to charge it with being the "cause" of the mounting juvenile delinquency?

The recent series of twenty articles in the New York *Daily News* (February 28 to March 20) on "teen-age terrorism" in the public schools of New York City supports this point. The schools were accused of being a vast incubator of narcotic addiction, vandalism, gang warfare, and sexual promiscuity, largely because of their progressive methods of teaching. The *News* maintained that the facts were suppressed by the school authorities because of their desire to keep "the complete picture of disorder" from the taxpayers. In short, according to the *News*, "the left-wing, pseudo-intellectual, do-as-you-like progressive system prevalent in the local schools is breeding lawlessness in the classrooms—and outside schools, too."

Those who find the cause of delinquency in a social institution, such as the public-school system, need to be reminded of some of the conclusions of the Herlands Report of 1943. Many citizens of New York at that time expressed the same anxiety that we feel today about the growing problem. Accordingly, Mayor LaGuardia appointed a Committee on Juvenile Delinquency headed by William B. Herlands, the city's Commissioner of Investigation. In August, 1943, the committee released its report, an exhaustive analysis of Children's Court cases for the thirty months from January, 1941, to June, 1943. It was undoubtedly the most detailed and careful statistical analysis of juvenile delinquency in New York ever prepared. Although offenses centering

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around the home and the school—such as running away from home, disobeying parents, and truancy—together with burglary, were found to make up most of the increase since Pearl Harbor, the Herlands Report added an interesting and important observation. The conclusion is unwarranted, it said, that because most delinquent acts during the period covered occurred at home or in the school, parents and teachers must have been mainly responsible. Statistics such as these merely indicate where the delinquency *occurred,* not where it was *caused.*

A MORE effective approach to the problem than that of the New York *Daily News* is being made by a bipartisan subcommittee of the United States Senate headed by Senator Robert C. Hendrickson of New Jersey, which opened public hearings in 1953. The subcommittee has a staff of three men who serve as legal counsel and investigators, and in addition has borrowed several experienced consultants from various public and private organizations throughout the country. In each of twenty cities where it planned to hold hearings the subcommittee first organized a task force of persons interested in delinquency—civic leaders, police, the juvenile-court judge, clergymen, and so on. Their responsibility has been to provide an estimate of the extent of the problem in the community, to indicate what is being done to solve it, and to point out the deficiencies in the local program. The subcommittee investigators have then moved in and directed the inquiry. The subcommittee has also sent thousands of letters to agencies and individuals all over the United States soliciting their help in determining the nature, extent, main causes, and contributing causes of juvenile delinquency.

The first interim report of the Hendrickson subcommittee appeared in March of this year and wisely emphasized at the outset that "an investigation of juvenile delinquency involves examination of many facets of our complex society." "The brief period in which the subcommittee has had to work," it continued, "has not enabled it to do more than make a beginning on its task. For this reason, no effort has yet been made to formulate definite conclusions or final recommendations." However, the subcommittee did offer some tentative conclusions which may be summarized as follows: (1) In recent years a steadily increasing number of American children have been involved in delinquency. (2) As a corollary to the growing incidence of delinquency, younger children are committing more serious offenses. (3) The problem is non-urban as well as urban. (4) Delinquent acts are committed by children in all economic groups. (5) Delinquency "is always the product of many and closely interrelated influences or forces," especially those of the family and the community. (6) It follows that prevention of delinquency requires measures for improving family and community life for children.

The report is useful as a sober and realistic analysis of the problem, but it adds little to the store of knowledge already recorded in professional journals, monographs, and textbooks. What is most urgently needed, perhaps, is an inclusive theory which will (a) encompass and integrate the diverse threads of causation already uncovered, (b) suggest further lines of research, and (c) give direction to an effective program of treatment, control, and prevention. Such a theory is faintly suggested in one statement in the interim report to the effect that "through both acts of commission and omission, larger society may and does contribute to the development of delinquency."

THIS fits in with a school of thought in American social science which believes that the search for causation in social problems like juvenile delinquency has failed until now largely because it has not recognized the appropriate frame of reference for study and analysis—that is, American society as a whole. The forces impelling delinquency pervade our whole social structure. In other words, a theory that could be used most profitably by investigators is that juveniles in America are growing up in a "delinquent society."

According to this theory, the dynamic nature of American society is of primary importance. Continuing change has given a high degree of fluidity to our ideas of right and wrong. If American children were brought up in a culture where the pace of change was slow and the "right" ways had become firmly intrenched in tradition, they would be less prone to deviant behavior. Secondly, social relations in American society have become quite impersonal. The decline of face-to-face relations and responsi-

Walt Partymiller in the York *Gazette and Daily*

Deep Are the Roots

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bilities has meant the decline of an important form of social control, for adults as well as for children. Thirdly, the heterogeneous composition of American society has fostered a duality of loyalty and ethics. Children have consequently been inclined to follow one code of ethics in their relations with members of their own group and another code in their relations with the out-group.

But even more significant for delinquency, perhaps, are some of the values in American culture. For example, material success is generally believed to be emphasized more in our society than anywhere else in the world. This undoubtedly accounts for much of the energy and drive of Americans. But it also helps explain why other countries, even those with a standard of living considerably beneath ours, have lower delinquency rates. The majority of children elsewhere set up for themselves goals within reasonable reach, such as their parents have attained. Here we expect successive generations to achieve ever higher levels. Some children, when they realize they cannot reach their goals by thrift and hard work, turn to other means—those which spell delinquency.

Another pertinent American value, especially as it constitutes part of the personality make-up of the boy in our society, is toughness. American culture is permeated with violence in personal relations. Though social classes may differ in this respect, in general an inordinate pressure is placed on the male child to "fight back," not to be a "sissy." If the family does not cultivate this value in the boy, he will acquire it elsewhere.

The condoning of trickery as expressed in the sayings, "There's a sucker born every minute" and "Everything is a racket," is still another value related to juvenile delinquency. Ultimately juveniles acquire their values from the adults around them. And when adults take the attitude that laws dealing with intoxication, taxes, gambling, traffic, and many other things may be ignored if one can "get away with it," children follow their example.

MOST programs and techniques now in effect for the control and prevention of delinquency penetrate no deeper than the superficial symptoms. New proposals are usually no better. Typical of many is the "solution" just advocated by the American Association of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation. The April, 1954, issue of the A.A.H.P.E.R. *Journal* maintains that juvenile delinquency can be combated swiftly and economically by providing a sound program of physical education and recreation for all children in the nation's schools. Prevention of juvenile delinquency calls for much more than this. It requires modification of the social and cultural pattern of American society.

Unfortunately, the Hendrickson subcommittee, if it ever reaches such a conclusion, will have difficulty in translating it into recommendations for action. We all know that bold revisions in the pattern of human relations have become taboo in mid-century America. We no longer pioneer freely in social affairs. Our way of life has come to mean, among other things, conservative correctness in social, political, and economic affairs. Proposals for planned change, so common a generation ago, are now frowned upon as the impractical speculations of "eggheads." Recommendations that social engineering be employed to alleviate our social problems are linked with political subversion or left-wing ideologies and dismissed—or investigated. The flexibility and social inventiveness that explained so much of the promise and hope of our earlier history have given way to fear and rigidity.

This, indeed, is one of the more important dilemmas of our time. Unless we solve it, our very existence, not merely the welfare of our children, will be threatened.

NEW EMANCIPATION

The Atlanta Conference . . . *by Henry Lee Moon*

Atlanta, Georgia

WHILE Governor Herman Talmadge was shouting defiance of the Supreme Court and threatening armed resistance to its edict against segregation in the public schools, Negro leaders from seventeen Southern and border states and the District of Columbia were soberly formulating a program of action "to meet the vital and urgent issues" raised by the order. Meeting in Atlanta May 22-23, on call of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the leaders of the association's Southern units were neither fearful nor gloating. They were assured but not vaunting; reasonable but not compromising. They hailed "this memorable decision as a victory not for Negroes alone but for the whole American people and as a vindication of America's leadership of the free world."

The tone of the conference was set by a message from Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the N. A. A. C. P. board of directors, who expressed the opinion that "the entire South will meet the test of the Supreme Court decision in the spirit of loyal, law-abiding citizens." Further, Dr. Tobias urged: "It is important that calm reasonableness prevail, that the difficulties of adjustment be realized, and that without any sacrifice of basic principle the spirit of give and take characterize the discussions. Let it not be said of us that we took advantage of a sweeping victory to drive hard bargains or impose unnecessary hardships upon those responsible for working out the details of adjustment."

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The eighty men and women who gathered in the capital of the South have borne the brunt of the battle to end segregation in their respective states. They are recognized spokesmen of the Negro race in their communities. Most of them are professional or small business men—lawyers, doctors, clergymen, teachers, real-estate operators, insurance agents, and shopkeepers. They chose as their chairman, James M. Hinton, the clergyman and business man who is president of the N. A. A. C. P. in South Carolina, the group which sponsored the first of the five cases decided by the Supreme Court on May 17.

Although the publicity given to the conference was largely focused upon such national leaders as Walter White, executive secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., and Thurgood Marshall, its chief counsel, the formulation of policy was the work of the delegates, as the responsibility for effectuating it at the local level will be theirs. The Atlanta Declaration which they drafted will undoubtedly eclipse the famous speech of Booker T. Washington in the same city as a milestone of Negro progress in America. Washington's address, delivered at the opening of the Atlanta Exposition on September 18, 1895, anticipated by eight months the court's *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* decision establishing the "separate but equal" doctrine. Sometimes called the "Atlanta compromise," it counseled separation "in all things that are purely social," which was interpreted to mean acceptance of the South's segregation policies.

LIKE the sage of Tuskegee fifty-nine years ago, the N. A. A. C. P. delegates offered cooperation with Southern whites, but with this significant difference: they made the offer as equals, not as supplicants. The fallacious and humiliating doctrine of "separate but equal" having been set aside by the new ruling, they expressed a readiness "to work with other law-abiding citizens who are anxious to translate this decision into a program of action to eradicate racial segregation in public education as speedily as possible." To this end, they directed the units of the association "in every affected area to petition their local school boards to abolish segregation without delay and to assist these agencies in working out ways

and means." They pledged the "total resources of the N. A. A. C. P. . . . to facilitate this great project of ending the artificial separation of America's children on the irrelevant basis of race and color."

The Declaration recognized "that school officials will have certain administrative problems in transferring from a segregated to a non-segregated system," but made it clear that the N. A. A. C. P. would "resist the use of tactics contrived for the sole purpose of delaying desegregation." Further, the N. A. A. C. P. leaders promised to "accelerate our community-action program to win public acceptance of the court's de-segregation order from all segments of the population."

Advocates of segregation have tried to frighten Negro teachers into silence, if not acceptance of Jim Crow, by asserting that only white persons would be permitted to teach mixed classes. Presenting the case for segregation before the Supreme Court in the first argument in December, 1952, J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., Virginia's Attorney General, flatly stated that "Negroes would not be employed to teach white children in a tax-supported school system in Virginia." All over the South there has developed a sudden and lachrymose concern about the fate of the Negro teacher.

The delegates to the Atlanta conference described this as a false issue in view of the shortage of teachers. As one pointed out, the abolition of segregation in the schools did not mean the abolition of children. Moreover, in many instances Negro teachers are better qualified than their white colleagues, since the best-trained white persons can often get higher-paid positions in private employment. However, in recognition of this propaganda tactic, the Declaration called for "integration at all levels, including the assignment of teacher personnel on a non-discriminatory basis," and gave assurance that "the fullest resources of the association, including the legal staff, the research staff, and educational specialists on the staff, will be utilized to insure that there will be no discrimination against teachers as a result of integration."

Concern was expressed about the financial problem involved in the development of an integrated school system in the region. "We are aware," the delegates affirmed, "that our region has been overburdened in its efforts to provide education for all children—in part because of the dual system—and, accordingly, we strongly support federal aid to assist our states in the building of new schools and the expansion of educational facilities for all our children, provided any such legislation contains the necessary safeguards to insure the distribution of funds in accordance with the . . . court's decision."

It was reported that some local school boards were trying to get Negroes to accept continuance of segregation on a "voluntary" basis. Such a plan, Mr. Marshall pointed out, would be unlawful. The rights conferred by the Constitution are personal and individual and cannot be bargained away by any group.

The conference ended on a note of hope and anticipation. New impetus has been given to the N. A. A. C. P. drive to complete emancipation by the 100th anniversary of Lincoln's Proclamation of January 1, 1863.

Hopes were heightened when on May 24, the day after the conference closed, the Supreme Court cleared its docket of pending segregation and discrimination cases and handed down decisions extending its May 17 ruling to public housing and publicly supported colleges and universities and presaging its extension to municipally owned golf courses and other tax-supported recreational facilities. These cases involved the University of Florida, Louisiana State University, Hardin Junior College at Wichita Falls, Texas, a municipal golf course at Houston, and an open-air amphitheater in Louisville, Kentucky.

Emancipation seems nearer than ever before.

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BOOKS

Will Africa Be Next?

The Heart of Africa. By Alexander Campbell. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

Africa: The Racial Issue. Edited by Joan Coyne MacLean. H. W. Wilson Company. $1.75.

South Africa in a Changing World. By Edgar H. Brookes. Oxford University Press. $3.

Mau Mau and the Kikuyu. By L. S. B. Leakey. The John Day Company. $2.50.

Before the African Storm. By John Cookson. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $3.50.

By Melville J. Herskovits

THE contribution these five books make to the understanding of contemporary Africa south of the Sahara is varied and uneven. All share the quality of troubled contemplation of a troubled scene; all represent honest attempts to portray the difficulties and complexities of its rapidly changing panorama. Three of them, however, continue a tradition that does not help in achieving clear thinking about the affairs of the continent, since they tend to present the whole in terms of some of the parts, and thus fail to indicate the diversity of its aspects.

Only seven chapters out of the thirty-one in Mr. Campbell's book are devoted to Belgian and Portuguese and French territories, and to British West Africa. Mr. Cookson quite ignores French and British West Africa; and only 25 pages out of the 187 in the small volume edited by Mrs. MacLean are given over to the Congo, French Equatorial Africa, and West Africa, the important Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique being completely ignored. The books of Senator Brookes and Dr. Leakey gain by the sharpness of their focus, provided always that their readers will not interpret the complex variations over the continent in the light of their discussions of the problems of particular regions.

Mr. Campbell is the South African correspondent of *Time* and *Life,* with headquarters in Johannesburg. He has lived many years in Africa, and after the manner of newspapermen knows a great deal about what goes on. His book is by far the easiest reading of the five and is filled with fascinating accounts of famous personalities and descriptions of lesser-known types. It is an honest book that will earn him no love from those in power in the Union and British East and Central Africa. Some of his sketches, such as those of Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, the diamond magnate of the Union, of Premier Malan, and of Sir Roy Welensky, are deeply perceptive.

Perhaps because he knows the eastern and southern parts of the continent best, his accounts of other regions are less successful. One may suspect there is another reason for this: situations not in crisis have less attraction for Mr. Campbell as a newspaperman than those in which tensions are close to the surface of thought and action. Nowhere is this clearer than in his summary chapter, where the less sensational adjustments to the changing order found in British West Africa are almost entirely neglected in his preoccupation with the more exciting actuality of conflict in the east and south.

Mr. Cookson's book is of the same general type, though it shows neither the discipline in approach nor the ability in writing that mark Mr. Campbell's work. His attitude toward African problems is not uninteresting; it may be compared to that held by the liberal settler of East Africa. He is against racial discrimination and feels that the African should have greater access to the resources of Europe, or, as he terms it, of "civilization." He believes that the policy of settling Europeans in British and Belgian territory is a good thing, since this alone will develop the resources of the continent, quite ignoring the fact that the presence of permanent settlers is correlated with some of the most serious tensions in Africa, a point that Mr. Campbell documents heavily. There seems to be no great degree of sophistication in Mr. Cookson's suggested "cure for Africa's woes." This "is to be found in bringing Africa's native leaders to realize that their evolution to democratic self-government will be a slow and painstaking process. But first these leaders have to be immunized from Communist and other subversive influences by being given a higher standard of living and a sound schooling in moral and ethical values." This is somewhat reminiscent of the answer to the demands of Africans for self-government heard some ten years ago, which took the form of expressions of sympathy and a time-table of from two to five hundred years for its achievement.

"AFRICA: THE RACIAL ISSUE" is a collection of essays that have appeared in various American and English periodicals during the past three or four years. The tone throughout is liberal. The number of articles by Africans brings to the book a dimension too often lacking in discussions of this kind, the papers by Gikonyo wa Kiano and Edward W. Blyden III being outstanding among the contributions. But surely it might have been possible to find a more authoritative article on the Gold Coast than the *New Yorker* piece by Mr. and Mrs. Meeker, no matter how good reading it may be or how striking its descriptions of one or two ceremonies they witnessed. The bibliography will be found useful.

Dr. Leakey's little book on the Mau Mau is to be recommended for the background it provides to recent events in the unhappy colony of Kenya and, on the whole, for the balance of its presentation. Leakey knows his Kikuyu; he speaks the language fluently, and was brought up among them. The first part of his book is a good short ethnographic study of this people, from whose population of over a million the Mau Mau forces are in the main drawn. Its description of the progress of events since the coming of the Europeans is judicial. As a matter of fact, much of the text could be used by any protagonist of the Kikuyu to

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MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS, professor of anthropology and director of the Program of African Studies of Northwestern University, spent most of last year in Africa south of the Sahara.

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show their land hunger, the disabilities under which they have been forced to live in the towns, the failure of the missionaries to realize that in their zeal they were attacking customs deep-set in Kikuyu culture and inviting the rejection of what they wanted to bring to these people. Leakey knows the economic and social causes that have brought the Kikuyu to rebellion and makes them clear. His book might be called the best-documented and reasoned expression of the liberal white Kenyan point of view that has yet appeared.

SENATOR BROOKES attempts to explain the present situation in South Africa to both South Africans and those outside the Union and also to assess the effect of the Union's policies on some serious problems of world adjustment. The little volume is made up of lectures delivered at the University of Natal. Many of its aphorisms reflect the wisdom of mature thought: "One of the most poignant features of the situation [in South Africa] is that it is precisely those who fear the rule of the black man who are beginning to make it inevitable"; or, "Nationalism fully realized always leaves a tang of disappointment." Yet for all its insight, we have the uncomfortable feeling that its most significant contribution is its documentation of one of the quieter tragedies of the South African scene—the bewilderment of so many liberals in the face of forces of racial hatred exerting ruthless political pressures and moving toward clear and inevitable ends. Senator Brookes is under no misapprehension as to the power of the United States in the world today. His discussion shows how we could use our influence to lessen the disparities in opportunity for the peoples of South Africa, and how essential such action is if an appeal to raw force is not to come in the near future.

The dramatic events of the past few years in Africa, projected against the situation in the Far East, have brought the realization that no continent can be taken for granted as "safe" and that no great mass of humanity exists whose acquiescence to foreign controls can be regarded as permanent. To determine what our role as a world power must be, we must therefore try to grasp the significance of the social and economic changes that are taking place in Africa and to understand their historical and ethnological setting. To this end, these books, and the many other publications on Africa that are appearing in this country in increasing number, are making their contributions.

New Books in Brief

Hucksterism Explored

THE RELAXED SELL. By Thomas Whiteside. Oxford. $3.50.

This is an expedition into darkest hucksterism, done with such a light and deft touch, and so consistently entertaining, that, as with the charming latter-day folk ballads about syphilis and the atom bomb, you have to wipe that smile off your face before you can set yourself to draw the moral.

Mr. Whiteside describes the operations of a cigarette advertising campaign, a soap-opera assembly line, a team of commercial composers, a children's space-adventure video program, opinion polls, Elsie the Cow, and Milton Reynolds, the ballpoint-pen king. The distinguishing bond of the hacks who create, manipulate, and control these operations is the level of seriousness with which they take their jobs. "We try to concentrate on good taste," said the nation's leading composer of singing commercials. He is the author, among other things, of

> I ate too much
> I ate too fast
> Oh boy did I feel dismal!
> It's the easy thing
> For the queasy thing
> Soothing Pepto-Bismol.

In this business, serious men go about their jobs seriously, for there is nothing so gravid with responsibility as the care and feeding of a big account. There is no joking about Elsie the Borden cow, who was so carefully exploited—she received the keys to seventy-four cities up to press time—that in a national identification poll her picture was recognized by 5 per cent more people than identified Eisenhower, and by 10 per cent more than identified Einstein.

The poll-takers measure "reactions"

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with the fiendish accuracy of second-by-second electronic computers. Members of a sample audience have only to press buttons to indicate likes or dislikes as a program or movie goes along. The only trouble is that every now and then the samplers press the wrong buttons by mistake, and this upsets the nation's choice.

Then there is the producer of a TV space serial for children who, explaining the humanitarian policy of his scripts as soberly as though he were discussing the U. N. Charter, assured Whiteside that he had banned the use of disintegrator rays. All he permits on his telecasts is the Paralo-Ray, which simply paralyzes. In a way, so does the book. As the publishers justly claim, it is an honest and shattering reminder that advertising is here to stay, and that we and our children are going to have cigarette smoke blown at us and underarm daintiness extolled coast to coast for a very long time to come.

Record of Good Talk

DIALOGUES OF ALFRED NORTH WHITEHEAD. As Recorded by Lucien Price. Atlantic–Little, Brown. $5.

Alfred North Whitehead would never have kicked a stone to prove a metaphysical point, but he was like Samuel Johnson in two respects: he was a good talker and he had a Boswell. The Boswell was a Boston newspaperman who from 1934 to 1947 wrote out his recollections of Whitehead's conversation, had the record approved as substantially correct, and here offers a good-sized chunk. The topics range from small talk through current events to Whitehead's own philosophical convictions, and the talk is almost always brightly interesting. Inasmuch as Whitehead's philosophical writings are justly regarded as quite difficult as well as very original, his informal remarks should make an easy introduction to his world, where a radical skepticism was partly supported by but also partly anticipated the attitudes concerning the true nature of scientific knowledge which atomic physics has fostered. It is an interesting fact that though he collaborated with Bertrand Russell on the "Principia Mathematica," his attitude toward the nature of both mathematics and symbolic logic was the exact opposite of that which Russell, at least at one time, held. To Russell mathematics was not so much a description of reality as the nearest we could come to reality itself. In the present book Whitehead is quoted as maintaining on the contrary that mathematics is merely a system of ordering concepts which have no necessary relation to reality: "The only world of which [Euclid's geometry] is an accurate description is the world of Euclidian geometry."

History Through Pictures

A VISUAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By Harold U. Faulkner. Illustrated by Graphics Institute. Abelard-Schuman. $5.

This "new kind of history book" presents the facts and figures of the growth of the United States from the Jamestown colony to the present day in a series of pictographs, pictorial maps, visual diagrams, and graphic stories. Altogether seventy-six "topics" are summarized in full-page illustrations, and further details are supplied by Professor Faulkner's text, which, however, is definitely subordinated to the pictorial matter. Little attention is paid to politics except in a very broad way: the emphasis throughout is on economic and social developments, such as the motives for early English colonization, the emergence of cotton as the leading American export, the tides of immigration, the economic reasons for the spread of sectionalism, and so forth.

As a whole the book is an interesting and worth-while experiment if not a fully successful one. The compilers do not seem to have made up their minds at what audience they were aiming. Many of the graphic stories, with their affinity to the comic strip and their highly stylized and often amusing red and black symbolic figures, will appeal to children in grades four to six. But it is doubtful whether many in this age group will make much of visual diagrams that attempt to explain such complicated matters as the functioning of the Federal Reserve System. Thus the work tends to fall between the stools of naivete and over-sophistication.

In Old Virginia

MINE EYES HAVE SEEN THE GLORY. By L. Minor Blackford. Harvard. $5.

The story of the Blackford family of Virginia and particularly of Mary Berkeley Minor Blackford whose life spanned nearly the whole of the last century. Mary Blackford hated slavery, and her journals are full of its cruelties. She also taught her sons to hate it; yet when the chips were down, loyalty to their state outweighed loyalty to the Union, and all five fought for the Confederacy. This book, largely made up of family letters and extracts from journals, gives an illuminating and unusual picture of life in Virginia before, during, and immediately after the Civil War. Of especial interest is the account of Mrs. Blackford's vigorous support of the American Colonization Society, formed to send freed slaves back to Africa, including letters written by one of her husband's ex-slaves from Liberia.

Theater

Harold Clurman

THERE was a time when we spoke of "revolutionary" drama. What was meant was drama that urged or suggested a change in society. Still the appellation was a misnomer. For in a sense there cannot be such a thing as "revolutionary" drama. The theater is a communion: no play really flouts its audience. Imagine, if you can, an anti-Semitic play presented by the Habimah Theater!

In the old days—how long ago they now seem—when Odets's "Waiting for Lefty" was the talk of the town, even politically conservative critics were impressed and, better than that, entertained by it, not only because its language of ecstatic slogans was colorful and new, but because its fervent cry for social amelioration seemed justified to practically everybody.

Drama to be effective may anticipate, awaken, and perhaps guide the consciousness of its audience—to a degree.

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Drama arouses in its audience what is already latent in it; it provokes the response the audience yearns to voice. Drama, in short, lives and is based on the audience's beliefs, it may sometimes appear to, but may never actually, contradict them. That is why it is always socially revealing. "The Seven Year Itch" tells us as much about our society as "The Caine Mutiny."

A "good play" is not good for all people at the same time. Anouilh's plays are good and essentially popular plays in Paris. With us their appeal is limited. Sartre's "Dirty Hands" (played here as "Red Gloves") was a smash in France and a flop here, not only because of differences in production and certain alterations in the text, but because the large American theatergoing public, for all its TV habits and excitements, is not intimately and emotionally concerned with politics.

ALL THIS comes to my mind now as I read Jean Giraudoux's posthumous play, "For Lucretia," highly successful at present in Barrault's production at the Théâtre Marigny in Paris. Giraudoux, the outstanding French playwright between the First and the Second World War, is also the foreign playwright who has proved most acceptable to our audiences. The reason for this, apart from the casting of the Lunts in "Amphitryon 38" and of Audrey Hepburn in "Ondine," is that one of Giraudoux's major themes is the lack of romance, spiritual liberty, and joy in the contemporary world. Stated as Giraudoux states it—with imagination, humorous fancy, and sprightly delicacy—this premise is something we can share.

But not all Giraudoux is so readily assimilable by us. It is the difficulties we might have with such a play as "For Lucretia" that interest me at the moment, because they are typical of certain differences in attitude between the French and us which are cultural as well as social. For though Giraudoux's "Lucre[illegible] is quasi-realistic—its locale is southern France in 1868, and the settings are such ostensibly ordinary places as the *terrasse* of a pastry shop and the home of the province's attorney general—the play is not only poetic in treatment, as are all Giraudoux's plays, but utterly literary in the precise sense of the term.

In our dramaturgy—strongly influenced by the movies in recent years—dialogue is supposed to make the story progress: the irrelevant from the plot standpoint has to be cut. With Giraudoux it is the story which seems irrelevant. When a man in the midst of a scene in which he is led to suspect his wife's fidelity begs assurance that his suspicions are unfounded, the play halts so that the man can deliver what amounts to an aria on conjugal felicity.

Ordinary housewives (French theater style!) launch into diatribes replete with literary allusions which include references to English novelists of the eighteenth century. "Is man generous and strong?" the heroine asks, and the answer—in the climactic scene—is, "He is above all naive and deluded. To begin with, he believes the world, from nadir to zenith, belongs to him: I speak of the modest. He believes that woman belongs to him, that he owns love: I speak of the intelligent. He is above all pretentious: I speak of the simple."

This is not eloquence so much as rhetoric. Here we are on the threshold of realizing an essential difference between the French and the American theater. In story, in idea, in language the French are rarely concerned with verisimilitude: the play need not—preferably should not—mirror "real" life, but a *concept* of life. And virtually all concepts are considered valid—even the "immoral"—provided they are expressed

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with mental agility and distinction or brilliance of speech.

In "Lucretia," for example, a woman to avenge herself on another because of a sexual slur administers a narcotic to the offending person, stages a false rape to make the victim believe she is no longer pure, and gets the man who is supposed to have committed the rape to attempt one! Such a story sequence would probably either shock an American audience or appear distastefully ludicrous to it—as did certain scenes in "Mademoiselle Colombe"—because the American audience takes them not only as something that is "actually" happening but as something the playwright is pleased to have happen.

The Frenchman regards such scenes primarily as artistic images, metaphors of the stage, artifice (or "theater"), which need not—and indeed should not—be conceived as literally true events but as meaningful fabrications of the mind and the imagination—related to but deliberately distinct from life itself. Paradox of thought, characterization, event, and language is the norm here. Since, according to French aesthetics, everything is permissible to the artistic imagination (as differentiated from the everyday conduct of life), French drama, aimed at audiences with a more definite sense of moral values than ours—which are fluctuating, sentimental, and "instinctive" rather than reasoned—is more daring, more scandalizing, and at any rate less "natural" than ours. The French theater is not necessarily better than our own, but because of its departures from what we believe to be aesthetically axiomatic we may learn much from it.

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Records

B. H. Haggin

LONDON has dubbed on to an LP record most of the passages from Gluck's "Orfeo ed Euridice" as performed at Glyndebourne that it issued in 1948—with Kathleen Ferrier, Ann Ayars, Zoe Vlachopoulos, and orchestra and chorus under Stiedry. I have listened to enough of the record to report that the dubbed sound of the voices is very good but that Euridice's lovely *E quest' asilo* and the Dance of the Blessed Spirits have been omitted; and to note again Ferrier's English-oratorio-singer style, her disturbing enunciation of Italian, and Stiedry's occasional stolidity here and unconvincing tempo there.

Urania's new recording of Haydn's "The Creation" is a great disappointment. The orchestra and chorus of Radio Berlin evidently are not as fine as those of the Vienna State Opera in the old Haydn Society performance; but it is also evident that Helmut Koch has none of the feeling for right—i.e., effective—tempo, for coherent shape, for refinement of phrasing, tone, and execution that Clemens Krauss exhibits in the old performance; and Koch's inadequacy extends to beating strict time for the first recitatives in the introduction (later recitatives have the proper flexibility) and omitting the little cadenza-like arpeggio near the end of the aria *Rollend in schäumenden Wellen*. The new performance does offer a solo soprano without the tremolo of the sopranos of the old one; but on the other hand its tenor is poorer. And it offers reproduction that is brighter and fuller and free of the clouding reverberation of the old performance; but as between the good performance defectively reproduced and the good reproduction of a poor performance I think I would choose the good performance.

Much of the Corelli Concerto Grosso Op. 6 No. 12 on another Urania record is characteristically lovely; but the earlier Rosenmüller Suite No. 9 from the "Studentenmusik" outstays the interest of its first moments; and I find only a slow movement in the Telemann Suite in D interesting. Good performances by the Collegium Musicum of the Saxon State Orchestra under Kurt Liersch.

One of Urania's cheaper Request Series records offers Mozart's Serenade K.375, a piece with breathtaking moments, played well by the Munich Philharmonic Wind Ensemble, though with not quite the precision and integration of execution and tone of the Vienna Philharmonic group in the Westminster performance. On the same record is the Cassation K.63.

Another of Urania's cheaper records offers Bach's Concerto in D minor for violin and oboe, more familiar but no more interesting as the Concerto in C minor for two claviers, and played well by Marc Hendriks and Hermann Töttcher with the Chamber Orchestra of Radio Berlin under Koch. On the same record is an undistinguished performance of Haydn's undistinguished Cello Concerto.

I can report that the works of Johann Christian Bach on a Columbia record—the Sinfonias Op. 18 Nos. 1 and 4, Sinfonia Concertante in A for violin and cello, and Concerto Op. 7 No. 5 for cembalo (harpsichord)—are played well by the Vienna Symphony under Paul Sacher, with Walter Schneiderhan,

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solo violin, Nikolaus Hübner, solo cello, and Gustav Leonhardt, solo cembalo; but I found the music uninteresting.

Mendelssohn's lovely "Italian" Symphony, on a London record, gets a suitably suave and graceful performance by Krips and the London Symphony that is excellently reproduced except for violin sound that lacks luster and fullness. On the reverse side is Schumann's Fourth, with the introduction, the beginning of the second movement, and the transition to the finale all played much too slowly.

Characteristic and effective writing by Prokofiev is heard in the Four Portraits he put together out of material from his opera "The Gambler" (1928); and they are played excellently by the Philharmonia Orchestra under Wilhelm Schuechter. On the same MGM record is a suite from Kabalevsky's "Colas Breugnon."

Britten's Simple Symphony, made out of boyhood trifles, is something you can skip; nor should you get the MGM record for John Ireland's Concertino Pastorale.

For the songs from Rodgers and Hart's "The Boys from Syracuse" as sung by Jack Cassidy, Bob Shaver, Bibi Osterwald, and Holly Harris with chorus and orchestra under Lehman Engel one endures Portia Nelson's mannered performance of *Falling in Love with Love* and a couple of contributions by Stanley Prager that can go undescribed.

And two Cole Porter masterpieces, *After You—Who?* and *I've Got You on My Mind* from "Gay Divorce," are among the songs of his that are sung well by Louise Carlyle and Bob Shaver with superb two-piano accompaniments by David Baker and John Morris on a Walden record.

One statement in my April 10 article on reproducing equipment seems not to have been clear. I wrote that the infinite-baffle box for the speaker must be lined with sound-absorbent material like rock wool or fiberglas, and that even better results would be achieved by filling the entire interior with fiberglas after covering the speaker cone with rock wool. And some readers didn't understand that the rock wool was to cover the housing of the speaker cone, to protect the cone from fragments of the fiberglas.

Letters

"Megabuck Scientists"

Dear Sirs: My hat is off to Norbert Wiener [*The Nation,* May 1]. Who would ever have thought that a scientist would have the guts to call attention to the "megabuck scientists"? Who would have believed that one would admit that physics has been turned into "a moving crap game"? Hurrah for Norbert Wiener!

But there is yet one thing I want to find one scientist who will admit. The constant concern for probabilities which is the scientist's stock in trade is degrading to the human spirit. Probability is the enemy of faith, and it is faith that we need, the kind of faith that stands up for the ethical truth in a minority of one and without being paid for it. Even Mr. Wiener seems to think there is some intimate relation between science and truth. The fact is that they have come to be opposites.

Portland, Ore. E. A. HALSEY

Withdrawal to Normalcy

Dear Sirs: That a business recession has been in process for some time has been expressed in various words which avoid a plain statement of the simple fact, but I think the following excerpt is the cleverest way of saying that business is bad and getting worse that I have seen. It is from the March 31, 1954, issue of the Norman, Oklahoma, *Transcript.*

"Oklahomans continue to share the nation's withdrawal from the abnormal prosperity of the Korean war, with business activity in the state during February progressing on a downward grade to new rates of normality."

VIRGLE GLENN WILHITE

Norman, Okla.

On the Jaguar

Dear Sirs: Millions of words have already been published, and millions more will be, about the horrible thing they are doing to Oppenheimer and all he stands for, and his magnificent reply, the reaffirmation of the rights of man as man, citizen, and thinker. Inclosed I am chipping in my own two bits:

THE JAGUAR

All men are killed by the thing they love;
The wrong of Cain is at every door;
Nature I love and art and song,
And man as man I love far more.

Nature is no one; art is long;
Song is the world in every note;
I wagered my life on the love in man:
The hidden jaguar jumped at my throat.

Time, the hunter, harries the veldt;
One by one the wildebeest die;
A bullet will bring the jaguar down
When reason returns and the sun is high.

Morning mounts and I hear the voice
Of Socrates in a Princeton room
Proclaim once more the glory of man:
The jaguar hears the voice of doom.

New York JOSEPH FREEMAN

Magical Thinking

Dear Sirs: I read with great interest Dr. Robert C. Murphy's article, A Psychiatrist Looks at McCarthyism, in your March 27 issue. Perhaps the author could have made a couple of his excellent points a little more sharply. For instance, there is a mechanism which Anna Freud called "identification with the aggressor." By this mechanism those who fight totalitarianism (or anything) take on the characteristics of that which they fear. This Hitler knew when he said, "The great strength of totalitarianism is that it forces those who fight it to adopt its methods." This McCarthy knows very well and this he has done.

A second and perhaps more important point: every such trend as McCarthyism is attended by regressive changes, primarily in the direction of "magical thinking." I will give briefly one example. There is no longer any use for fine shades or distinctions of meaning. A thing is either black or white. One is either with McCarthy or against him. If one is against him, one is a Communist. This primitive regressive thinking is utilized by McCarthy quite effectively.

San Francisco NORMAN REIDER, M. D.

Another Exception

Dear Sirs: In my piece Heresy and the High Mind, published in your March 27 issue, I transmitted a piece of misinformation. The Princeton newspaper in a telephone call to Rutgers said that all the other panelists at the meeting of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee had been up before a Congressional committee, and I reported that. I now learn that Charles Allen, one of the panelists, was incorrectly included in the cover-all statement. I regret the error.

Bound Brook, N.J. JOHN CIARDI

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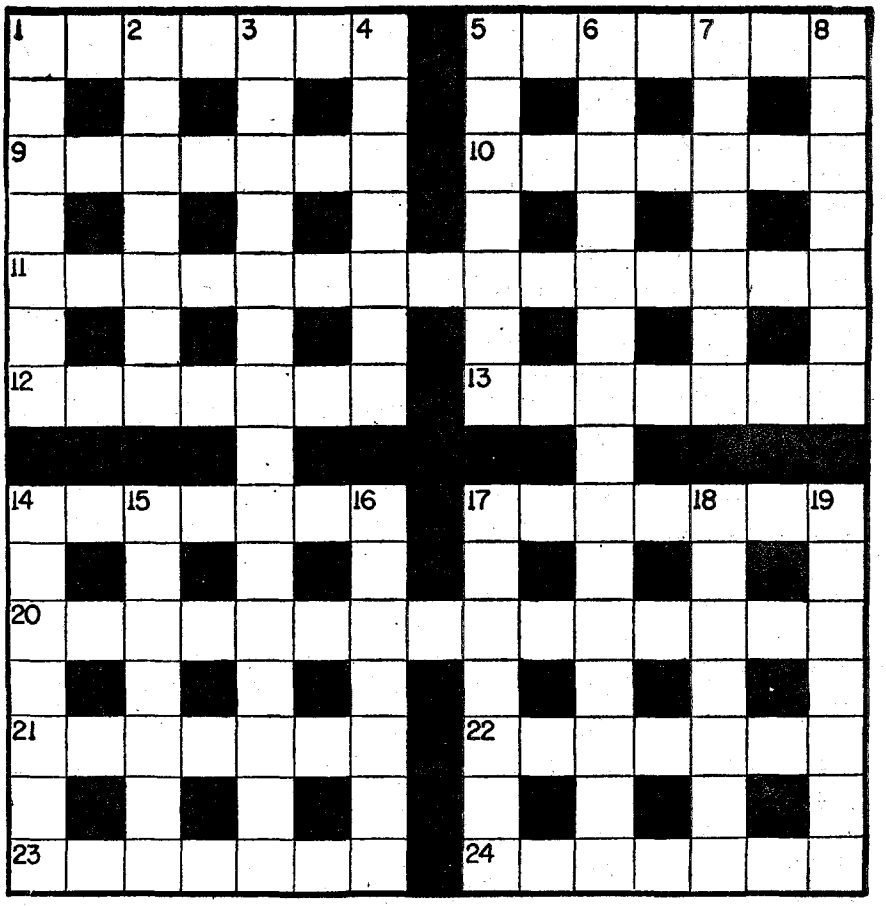
BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Is found in musical silence, and acts in opposition. (7)
5 There may be an argument whether 9 should be, but you're most often seen this way. (7)
9 Due to over-exposure, usually. (7)
10 If a dozen are hung, this might result. (7)
11 Unoccupied member lifting the arms from one side? (4-4, 7)
12 The spirits of the departed have animals named after them. (7)
13 Longfellow's was Spanish. (7)
14 Their environment isn't what it used to be. (7)
17 Do such books cause a repercussion? (7)
20 Are little dogies charged to avoid it? (15)
21 Broken ribs, not of people in this case. (7)
22 Learn incorrectly, so about to see the town. (7)
23 A well-known figure gains weight by it. (7)
24 Cut-up bird? (7)

DOWN

1 Not excited, yet in a fluster. (7)
2 A mote is easily seen in it. (7)
3 Would one have accused Copperheads with serving it? (8, 7)
4 Sounds like little boy social workers. (7)
5 Done away with in part of the plant which comes up and comes up. (7)
6 Hypercritically, but not with authority? (15)
7 Tit Willow tells of one. (7)
8 Wordsworth said she was a phantom of one. (7)
14 And Keats said there was an awful one, once in heaven. (7)
15 Reading almost all of the voting procedure? (7)
16 Homes are built up, as inside one finds a government official. (7)
17 The wrong stripes, representative of the cloth. (7)
18 Asmara's the capital here. (7)
19 Hank, when missing in play. (7)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 569

ACROSS:—1 and 10 BREACH OF TRUST; 5 and 9 COTTON MATHER; 11, 13 and 22 SHAVE AND A HAIRCUT, SIX BITS; 12 ELEVATE; 15 REGALED; 18 INEXACT; 21 SESAME; 24 GLUTTON; 26 ANXIETY; 27 RADIOGRAM; 28 IRISH; 29 DURBAN; 30 PRESAGES.

DOWN:—1 and 17 BUTTERFINGERED; 2 EXUBERATE; 3 CUT RATE; 4 OYSTERS; 6 OPENING; 7 TONIC; 8 NEAP TIDE; 16 LUMBERING; 19 ALTOONA; 20 TENURE; 21 STAMMER; 23 TYPHUS; 25 and 14 UNDERTAKERS.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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